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Anna Kristina Hultgren

English language use at the internationalised universities of Northern Europe: Is there a correlation between Englishisation and world rank?

Abstract: European universities have, since the late 1990s, undergone dramatic changes centred on internationalisation, harmonisation and competition. This paper is concerned with two specific consequences of these changes and their interrelationship: rankings and Englishisation, the latter defined as an increase in the use of English at universities of nation states where English is not the official language. Despite a recent surge in research into Englishisation, it is not yet clear to what extent current organisational changes inevitably entail an orientation towards *both* rankings and Englishisation or whether a high rank can be attained without the use of English being increased and vice versa. Using as a case study Denmark's eight universities, this paper examines the relationship between the combined rank on seven well-known ranking lists of each of Denmark's eight universities and the extent to which English is used in them, drawing on recently compiled government statistics. The findings suggest that while there is *some* evidence in support of a correlation, in that lower-ranked universities are, on the whole, less likely to use English than higher-ranked ones, there are some notable exceptions. It is suggested that the findings may shed light on whether Englishisation at the universities of Northern Europe is best explained in terms of unintended consequences or rational choices.

Keywords: Englishisation, university rankings, internationalisation, Northern Europe, structure/agency-debate, linguistic imperialism

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1 Introduction: The battle for excellence and its relationship with Englishisation

When I came back to my home city of Copenhagen a few years into the twenty-first century, having lived abroad for a number of years, I was immediately struck by something which seemed to me highly uncharacteristic of what is widely thought of as the reigning anti-elitist and egalitarian ideology of Denmark: There were placards in the cityscape imprinted with the ambition that the University of Copenhagen was going to be among the fifty best universities in the world. At the time, this was met with a certain degree of ridicule and mockery in the press and among the general public, but in fact, and as would gradually become clearer, this was probably one of the first outwardly visible signs that the Danish university system was being affected by an ideology to excel and the dramatic transformative processes of harmonisation, marketisation and internationalisation of which this ideology was indicative (for a discussion of these processes, see, e.g., Becher et al. 2001; Phillipson 2006b; Guruz 2008; Borghans et al. 2009; Hazelkorn 2011).

Around the same time, resurfacing at different points in time over a decade or more, another trend affecting Danish universities began to make itself noticed. There was, it seemed, an increasing presence of English at Danish universities, or, as it will henceforth be referred to, *Englishisation*. Where Englishisation is sometimes used to imply only a switch to English-medium instruction (Kirkpatrick 2011), here it is used in a way that also includes English language use in research publications and, as a proxy for English language use, the proportion of non-Danish students and new appointees. Ongoing Englishisation has sparked considerable interest and, particularly perhaps, concern amongst Danish linguists and prominent figures from the cultural elite as well as the Danish language board (Davidsen-Nielsen et al. 1999; Government of Denmark 2003, 2008; Harder 2009). Concerns have shifted in focus over the years, but have centred broadly on issues relating to language shift and loss, attrition, diglossia, loss of national culture and identity, threats to egalitarianism, democracy and social cohesion, as well as disadvantages arising from English not being the native language of most users (see Kuteeva and McGrath this issue for a similar discussion in the context of Sweden).

In this article, I examine the correlation between the two changes briefly outlined above using Danish universities as a case study. In other words, I compare the average position of all eight universities in Denmark on seven well-known ranking lists and correlate this with the extent to which English is used in three core areas: teaching, research and, as a proxy for English lan-

guage use, the presence of international students and new appointees (to be discussed further in Section 2). While research into the Englishisation of universities in Europe and elsewhere has surged in recent years, as evidenced in a range of special issue journals and edited volumes (Dimova et al. 2014; Hultgren et al. 2014; Kuteeva 2013; Doiz et al. 2013; Haberland et al. 2013; Haberland and Mortensen 2012; Preisler et al. 2011; Kuteeva 2011), the relationship between rankings and Englishisation has, as far as is known, not been directly explored.

While Danish universities are used here as a case in point, the study is intended to shed light on some more general principles and processes involved in the ongoing Englishisation of universities in European nation states where English is not the official language. Focusing on Denmark has had advantages and disadvantages. Denmark is a relatively small country, which has made it possible to obtain data about all of its eight universities. Denmark also has a strong, centralised yet transparent state, so statistics of the type drawn on in the paper have been comparatively straightforward to obtain. However, Denmark is also a small country and so with a sample size of eight universities, the study has not been able to yield any statistically significant results. Thus, it should be taken as an explorative, qualitative study despite its recourse to statistic tools. It is hoped, however, that the study might inspire scholars working in this area to undertake similar studies in their respective regions so that a more comprehensive picture can emerge of the relationship between rankings and Englishisation.

2 Is there a correlation between university rank and Englishisation?

It may seem intuitively obvious that there is a correlation between university rank and degree of Englishisation. After all, both Englishisation and the concern with ranking lists can be said to be two interrelated consequences of the same profound changes which European universities have undergone over the past ten to fifteen years and which centre on internationalisation, marketisation, commodification, competition, intensified measurability of output, EU harmonisation, increased mobility and transnational contact, all coupled with widening participation and limited resources (Becher et al. 2001; Phillipson 2006b; Guruz 2008; Borghans et al. 2009; Hazelkorn 2011). These transformations have had and continue to have profound effects on policy and practice in the university domain, two of which are the focus of this article.

The first is a concern with rankings. According to Ellen Hazelkorn, author of the book *Rankings and the reshaping of higher education: The battle for world-class excellence*, the heightened preoccupation with ranking lists can be put down primarily to four factors: 1) the shift to a knowledge-based economy, on the basis of which societies are valued according to the knowledge they produce; 2) demographic changes, which would have led to a decline in the student body of developed countries had it not been for a net migration from developing countries;¹ 3) a reconceptualisation of universities from social expenditure to constituting an integral part of the knowledge-producing economy, which, in turn, emphasises transparency, calculability and value-for-money; 4) lifestyle changes which have transformed the student into a consumer and education into a commodity. Rankings can be and have been intensely criticised, among other things for increasing the gap between winners and losers, not comparing like with like, obscuring values which cannot be quantitatively measured, not valuing uniqueness, etc. Yet despite their intrinsic problems they seem to retain their prominence in contemporary society (Hazelkorn 2011; Cheng 2011; Wee 2011).²

The second set of effects with which we are concerned is a well-documented greater use of English in three key areas of European universities where English has not been used to the same significant extent before: publishing (Ammon 2001; Lillis et al. 2010; Gazzola 2012), teaching (Coleman 2006; Wächter et al. 2008; Wilkinson 2013) and the presence of or intention to attract international staff and students (Greenall 2012). Danish universities have, since 2010, been allocated state funding in relation to how well they do on four calibrated performance indicators, all of which may be considered as direct or indirect triggers of Englishisation:

1. number of publications (the more prestigious the publication channel, the more funding is allocated) (weight: 25%)
2. number of completed student years (weight: 45%)
3. value of external grants captured (weight: 20%)
4. number of PhD degrees awarded (weight: 10%).

Rewarding publications in high-ranking journals is likely to encourage publishing in English-medium channels, which, other things being equal, will have greater prestige (Gazzola 2012). Similarly, allocating funding on the basis of

¹ This decline in the student body needs to be counterbalanced against the increase created by widening participation.

² By focusing on university rankings as parameters, I do not intend to signal a political endorsement of these nor do I make any pretence as to their validity.

completed student years, external grants captured and PhDs awarded is likely to further international collaboration and recruitment of students and staff which necessitates a common language, most often English. Many universities also strategically market their courses and programs as being in English in a further attempt to tap into the lucrative non-EU student market (Hultgren 2014).

Thus, it might seem reasonable to assume some sort of relationship between a university's rank and its degree of Englishisation, given that they are both outcomes of ongoing restructuring processes in the university domain. However, in relation to Englishisation per se, Haberland and Mortensen point out that restructuring (what they refer to as "present global processes") is complex and need not solely or unequivocally entail Englishisation (see also Altback and Knight 2007). They write:

English plays a central role in the present global processes of language ecology (including those caused by and affecting university internationalization) although it is important to stress that it does not play a central role in *all* of them, and *never* in splendid isolation. (Haberland and Mortensen 2012: 2, emphasis in original)

It does seem that the factors underlying Englishisation are complex. Thus, Englishisation has been found to be the unintended outcome of political decisions with a different aim (Saarinen and Nikula 2013). Sociolinguists have also picked up on the reinterpretation by policy makers and academics of internationalisation as meaning Englishisation (Llurda et al. 2012; Hultgren 2014), pointing to the Bologna Declaration's "striking" negligence of linguistic issues (Phillipson 2006a: 16), "Norway's misunderstanding of the Bologna Process" (Ljosland 2005) and the "invisib[ility]" of language issues in Finnish university policies (Saarinen and Nikula 2013: 131).

A possible example of a "present global process" (Haberland and Mortensen 2012: 2) in which English does not, perhaps, play a central role might be the concern with ranking lists. To feature highly on ranking lists, universities are measured on a range of criteria with different weightings, depending on the list. One criterion is the quality of research produced (measured by, for example, surveys, research income, papers per research staff, academic peer review, alumni or staff winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals, articles published in *Nature and Science*, citation impact and a high industry income). Another criterion is the quality of teaching, which may be measured through one or more of the following: student surveys, PhDs and undergraduate degrees awarded per teaching staff, faculty-student ratio and reputation among graduate recruiters. Importantly for the focus of this article, two lists, *Times Higher Education* and *QS*, also use the presence of international staff and students as a criterion, and while this does seem, at least indirectly, to favour English, the

weighting of this dimension is relatively minor, counting for a mere 3 and 5 % (for international staff) and 2 and 5 % (for international students) for *Times Higher Education* and *QS*, respectively, of the overall criteria used.³ Thus, given the wide range of criteria which form the basis of ranking lists, the starting point in this article is that it cannot be assumed a priori that there is a correlation between a university's rank and its degree of Englishisation.

Thus, while we might expect *some* degree of correlation between rank and degree of Englishisation, it remains to be seen just how strong this correlation is. In other words, is Englishisation an inevitable cause or consequence of a prominent place on a ranking list, and vice versa, or can one take place without the other? Furthermore, if there is a correlation between a university's rank and its degree of Englishisation, it is perhaps not entirely intuitive whether this would be a positive or a negative correlation. In other words, a case might be made both for lower-ranked universities using more English than higher-ranked ones in an attempt to attract international staff and students and thus advance their rank, and for higher-ranked universities to use more English because rankings and Englishisation are part and parcel of the same underlying processes. While this is what the article examines, it must be stressed from the outset that the methodology adopted will only be able to yield correlations, not any causal relationship.

3 Englishisation: rational choice or unintended consequence?

The question about the relationship between university rank and degree of Englishisation may be seen alternatively as a question of where on the dual spectrum of rational choice/agency and unintended consequence/structure the emphasis is placed. Where an emphasis on structure assumes that the independent actions of human beings are restricted, an emphasis on agency assumes that individuals have autonomy to act outside of regulatory frames. As a rough indication, we might expect that if Englishisation can primarily be put down to rational choice, it would lead to a less patterned relationship between world rank and Englishisation because we would not automatically assume that all universities would behave in the same way. Conversely, if Englishisation is put down more to structural forces, it might lead to a more patterned relation-

³ For a more comprehensive discussion of which parameters are used by various ranking lists, see, e.g., Hazelkorn (2011).

ship on the assumption that structural forces would impact systematically on Englishisation. However, this is, of course, a gross over-simplification. Other terminological binaries which signify similar sociological tensions are macro/micro, global/local, push/pull, determinism/free will. The respective balance to be placed on structure and agency is a longstanding concern in the social sciences associated, among others, with the work of Georg Simmel (1949) and Émile Durkheim (1984 [1893]) as well as more recent theorists including Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1984).

The debate has recently resurfaced in the narrower sociolinguistic field of the spread of English in European higher education and research. This is exemplified in exchanges between those who favour explanations in terms of grand narratives and those who emphasise the role of local, contextually contingent choices. Thus, to Robert Phillipson, “Englishisation is integral to globalisation ..., reflecting broader processes of Americanisation” (Phillipson 2006b: 68). Central to his linguistic imperialism thesis is that political, economic, military and socio-cultural forces, which he sees not as culturally neutral, but as associated with America and Britain and as being both actively and passively promoted and accepted, are inextricably linked to the expansion and adoption of the English language:

There are many factors contributing to the increased use of English in Europe, which can be classified as structural (the interlocking of English with the global economy, finance, and the military-industrial complex; British and American promotion of English; investment in the teaching of English in education systems) and ideological (imagery of English created through the media, popular and elite culture, connotations of success, necessity, and so on). (Phillipson 2006a: 22).

To the British applied linguist, Jim Coleman, by contrast, the Englishisation of European universities⁴

... is not the kind of imperialist global movement which the more extreme conspiracy theorists suggest. The societal changes instead reflect the cumulative impact of a myriad local discussions at departmental or faculty level, comprising false starts and experiential adaption, and whose prime movers are motivated above all by local contexts and domestic concerns. (Coleman 2013: xv)

While Coleman also notes that competition plays a crucial role in Englishisation, that is, the desire of universities “to attract fee-paying international students, gifted teachers and researchers, and the most talented postgraduates to

⁴ Coleman (2013) focuses specifically on teaching and not, as is done in the present article, on publication and the presence of international staff and students.

enhance the university's reputation and the country's workforce" (2013: xv), he places considerably greater emphasis on the pull-factor (i.e., on local contexts and domestic concerns) than does Phillipson. Although Coleman does not reference whom he subsumes under "extreme conspiracy theorists", Phillipson is an obvious candidate as his linguistic imperialism thesis has occasionally been given this label (see, e.g., Spolsky 2004 and, for a response, Phillipson 2007; Phillipson 2013). Shedding light on the respective balance between structure and agency in the process towards Englishisation may thus inform scholarly theory.

At a more practical level, it may also inform university policy and practice as there seems to be a tendency for some universities in Denmark to regard Englishisation as being a priori concomitant with world-class excellence. For instance, the University of Copenhagen's mission statement (or "Strategy" as it is officially entitled), is dominated by unquestioned associations between world class excellence and internationalisation, both of which seem to imply Englishisation, and this is typical for Danish university mission statements in general (see, e.g., Hultgren 2014). In the introduction to the "Strategy" we read:

Having fostered eight Nobel laureates, being a member of the International Alliance of Research Universities (IARU) and ranked highly in the European university landscape, the University must proudly carry its traditions onward. This will continue to be the basis for everything we do. (University of Copenhagen 2012: 12)

In relation to the ambition to retaining its rank in the European university landscape, it then goes on to list the following four aims:

- We aim to enhance our international research reputation by focusing on our existing top research areas as well as securing a good framework for emerging research.
 - We aim to work [in a] focused [way] towards international recruitment of the best students and researchers.
 - We aim to improve our PhD area, also in terms of international collaboration.
 - We aim to increase the share of our research published in the best academic journals.
- (Copenhagen 2012: 14)

While Englishisation is not explicitly mentioned in any of these aims, as discussed above, it is easy to see how strategies to "enhance international research reputation", "work focused towards international recruitment", "improve ... international collaboration" and "publish[ed] in the best academic journals" will indirectly foster Englishisation given the need for a common language in which to undertake these activities. The mission statements or policies of some universities in Denmark are more explicit about their strategies to increase the use of English and may, for example, specify targets that their portfolio of English-

medium programmes and courses must be expanded by a certain amount (Hultgren 2014). Yet the fact that the relationship between excellence, internationalisation and Englishisation is not a given is evidenced by a Sami university in Northern Norway which considers itself “internationalised” (in the sense of having collaborators all over the world) but specifies Sami as its official language (Bull 2012).

4 Data and methods

The data drawn on for this study comprise information on universities’ average position on global and European university ranking lists as well as information which says something about the extent of English language use vis-à-vis the local Nordic language(s) (to be further described below). In terms of the former, determining a university’s rank is complicated by the fact that there are many different lists, each with their own criteria and weightings (Hazelkorn 2011), and a university may do well on one and comparably worse on another. Because of this, it was decided that including a range of lists (seven) and calculating a university’s overall position on these lists (when combined) would be a more valid indicator of a university’s overall rank. Thus, a total of seven of the most well-known and frequently used lists were identified (Cheng 2011), and their rankings of 2010 were extracted. Since some of these lists differ in terms of how many entries they operate with (Table 1 shows the total number of entries for each list), and because some universities turned out not to feature at all on any of the lists, a normalisation procedure had to be devised to make a university’s rank on each of the lists comparable. This was done by converting

Table 1: Ranking lists of universities included in the present study.

Ranking list	Total number of entries
QS (Quacquarelli Symonds) (2010)	700
Times Higher Education, Global (2010)	400
Times Higher Education, European (2010)	400
ARWU, also known as the Shanghai Ranking (2010)	500
Leiden, Global (2010)	500
Leiden, European (2010)	100
Webometrics* (2010)	500

* Webometrics relies on web presence as a criterion.

Table 2: Sources of data and methods of obtaining them.

Area	Sub-Area	Source	Method
English as a language of publication	Articles and books	Danish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Higher Education	Data obtained by the author directly from the source for the purpose of this study. Data from 2010.
	PhD and doctoral theses*	Danish National Research Database (2011)	Data obtained by author by extracting it from database.
English graduate programmes		Report by Danish Evaluation Institute (2010)	Data obtained from report. Commissioned by the Danish government, it builds on questionnaire responses collected from each university in Denmark.
Proportion of non-Danish appointees and students	International appointments	Report by Ståhle (2011)	Data obtained from report. Commissioned by the Danish government, it builds on data provided by each university 2007–2009.
	International students	Universities Denmark (2010)	Data downloaded from Universities Denmark’s website. Data builds on statistics provided by each university.

* The Danish educational system distinguishes between a PhD and a doctoral degree, the latter being the higher and being awarded on the basis of a more substantial piece of scholarly production.

a university’s rank from an ordinal into a cardinal number. This, in turn, was done by first dividing a university’s numerical positioning on a given list with the total number of entries. (For example, for the University of Copenhagen, whose position is 45 on the *QS World University Rankings*, which has a total of 700 entries, 45 was divided by 700, giving the measure of 0.06). Having calculated the same measure for each university on each list, the universities’ average rank on all seven lists combined was obtained. In the cases where a university did not feature at all on the list in question (which was the case for the University of Southern Denmark on one list, Aalborg University on three and for Roskilde University, Copenhagen Business School, and the IT University on all lists), its position was operationalised as falling just below the bottom place. (In other words, in position 701 for *QS Global* where the bottom-most university comes in at number 700.) In numerical terms, this gives them a somewhat higher value than they have in reality, but this will not affect the results in this

study, which focuses only on the ordering of the universities with respect to one another.

The data which sought to document the extent of English language use at all of Denmark's eight universities were collected from a variety of primary and secondary sources.⁵ Table 2 provides an overview of where the data were obtained. Below is a more detailed explanation of how relevant constructs in each of the three categories have been defined and operationalised. Some methodological considerations are also discussed.

The data on language of publication cover all research articles and books produced in 2010 at Denmark's eight universities. The definition of a research article is in line with that used by the Danish government in their bibliometric system (Government of Denmark 2012). Thus, a research article is defined as having a scientific or scholarly objective, as being subject to principles of peer-review and as being endowed with an ISSN (for journals) or an ISBN (for books). It is important to bear in mind that the data do not include dissemination of knowledge to a wider audience, in which case the proportion of Danish language use would in all likelihood have been considerably higher. Another thing to note is that the total number of publications is inflated, since a publication co-authored by employees at different institutions will feature in the database as a separate entry for each institution.⁶ A final methodological consideration is that the proportion of publications in English should probably be considered a minimum. This is because the system in which authors register their output, the default language value, is set to Danish unless the author changes it, and sometimes this may be overlooked. The University of Copenhagen estimates that 2% of publications may be registered as Danish when they are in fact in English. All of the above applies to research articles only; doctoral and PhD theses are treated separately.

The language of teaching is operationalised as the number of graduate programmes offered in English per 100 students enrolled at graduate level in the same year (2010). The number of students at graduate level for each univer-

5 The data were originally collected as part of a larger Nordic collaborative project which sought to map out the extent of English language use vis-à-vis the local Nordic language(s) in selected areas at universities in five Nordic countries: Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. The network undertaking the project, 'Parallellingual Goals and the Internationalized Universities of the Nordic Countries' is funded by the Nordic Council.

6 While it is difficult to assess whether or how this affects the findings, it may give the monofaculty institution, Denmark's Technical University, an artificially high number of outputs since articles are more commonly co-authored in the technical and natural sciences than in the humanities. The technical sciences also tend to publish more in English, so there is a potentially confounding effect to be borne in mind here.

sity was obtained from Universities Denmark. Importantly, the data only give information about which language is specified in the course catalogues. In practice, that is, in terms of the language(s) actually used, there may be considerable deviations (see, e.g., Söderlundh 2012). Moreover, the figures only give information about master level, not bachelor level, which is likely to be considerably lower (see, e.g., Hultgren 2013). They also only reveal the language on entire programmes, not on individual modules, lessons or even parts of lessons (e.g., group work and the like), which may be considerably more linguistically heterogeneous (Kiil 2011; Haberland et al. 2013). It is also important to note that even if the course language specified in the course catalogue is Danish, the course literature is more likely to be in English (Thøgersen et al. 2013).

The percentage of non-Danish students and new appointees is taken as a proxy for the use of English, on the assumption that non-Danish speaking interactants will use English as a lingua franca, though the extent to which this is actually the case is of course debatable. For students, ‘non-Danish’ is defined as those who are not Danish citizens. These include those students taking a degree in Denmark as those who are variously referred to as “exchange students”, “visiting students” or “free movers”, i.e. those who take part of their degree, whether this is one or more academic terms, in Denmark. They also include non-Danish citizens who may have been born and have grown up in Denmark, and who are thus likely to speak Danish. This highlights the fact that not having Danish citizenship is, of course, not coterminous with using English as a lingua franca. Included in “non-Danish citizens” are also those who have not grown up in Denmark, but who may nevertheless still get by in Danish. Residents of other Nordic countries, notably Norwegians, Swedes and Icelanders, may well function receptively, productively, or both, at various levels of proficiency, in Danish, given the strong linguistic and historical links between countries in the Nordic region. For non-Nordic citizens, too, it is not entirely predictable that English will always be used as a lingua franca. There is a growing body of evidence that a range of other languages are in use, as for instance when French-, Arab- or Chinese-speaking students or staff form study groups or chat in the corridor (Ljosland 2008; Haberland et al. 2013). As regards staff, the measure “non-Danish new appointees” is used rather than the proportion of international staff, new or old, among the whole staff population. This was the only data that were obtainable. As strategic international recruitment is a relatively new phenomenon, the proportion of international staff among new appointments is likely to be higher than among staff in general. Non-Danish appointees are defined more specifically as non-Danish citizens with immediately prior employment outside of Denmark; thus, as was the case for the students, these may include Nordic citizens who function in Danish. Despite

these important caveats, however, it does seem intuitive to assume, given the role that English plays today as the world's academic lingua franca, that the greater the proportion of foreign students and staff within an institutional context, the more English will be spoken and heard, written and read.

5 Findings: no statistically significant correlation

The horizontal axes in Figures 1–3 rank each of Denmark's eight universities according to their average position on seven university ranking lists (see Section 4 for details on how this was calculated). Thus, the University of Copenhagen is the highest ranked university in Denmark, followed, in turn, by Aarhus University, Denmark's Technical University, University of Southern Denmark and Aalborg University. The bottom three universities, Copenhagen Business School, Roskilde University and The IT University of Denmark, do not feature anywhere on any of the ranking lists included in this study and can therefore not be ranked vis-à-vis one another; they come in at a joint bottom place. The vertical axes show the extent to which English is used in each university, measured as the proportion of publications produced in English (articles/books and theses) (Figure 1), number of graduate programmes offered in English per one hundred students (Figure 2) and the proportion of non-Danish students and new appointees (Figure 3).

It appears from Figures 1–3 that there is no clear pattern in terms of the relationship between a university's rank and the extent to which English is used. Had this been the case, we would have expected a gradual decline in the bars in each figure from left to right to correlate with the descending order of the universities' rank. Or, conversely, we might have expected the opposite pattern with lower ranked universities using more English, perhaps in an attempt to advance their rank. Yet we seem to be faced with neither a positive nor a negative correlation. When the correlation is put to the test using Spearman's correlation coefficient, which makes no assumptions about the distribution of the data, there are, except for one variable, no statistically significant results. Of the six variables, the only correlation which turns out to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level is, perhaps unsurprisingly, that between the proportion of foreign students and the proportion of foreign staff. This non-significant correlation is probably due to a combination of a relatively low sample size ($N = 8$) and the erraticism which some universities exhibit in their positioning, an issue which shall be discussed later in this section.

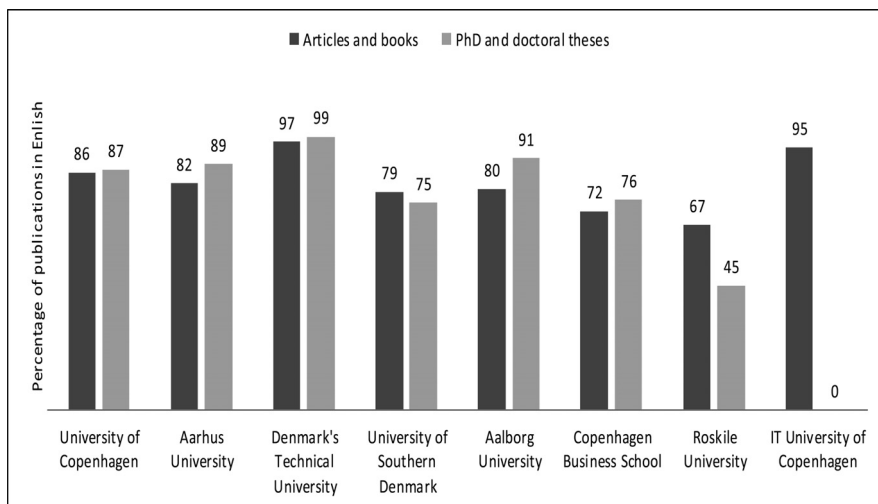


Figure 1: Percentage of publications in English per university. Universities are in descending order from left to right according to rank. Note that Copenhagen Business School, Roskilde University and the IT University of Copenhagen are ranked joint bottom.

Despite this non-statistically significant result it is perhaps possible to make a case for lower ranked universities being among those which use less English. When quantified, it turns out that the four lowest- or non-ranked universities, Aalborg and Roskilde University, the IT University and Copenhagen Business School, together account for the majority of the four bottom-most slots in terms of English language usage (15 out of 24). Similarly, the four highest-ranked universities, the University of Copenhagen, Aarhus University, Denmark's Technical University and the University of Southern Denmark, together occupy the majority of the four top-most slots in terms of English language usage (again, 15 out of 24). On balance, however, the more important finding is the irregularly high position obtained by certain universities, which, in combination with a low sample size, is probably the reason why the correlation is not statistically significant.

Thus, insofar as we were expecting higher ranked universities to use more English, it is apparent, in Figure 1, that Denmark's Technical University, the IT University of Copenhagen and, to a lesser extent, Aalborg University stand out for their comparatively higher use of English. In Figure 2, the same is the case for Denmark's Technical University, Aalborg University and, to a lesser extent, Roskilde University; and in Figure 3 Denmark's Technical University, Copenhagen Business School and the IT University of Copenhagen are the odd ones out.

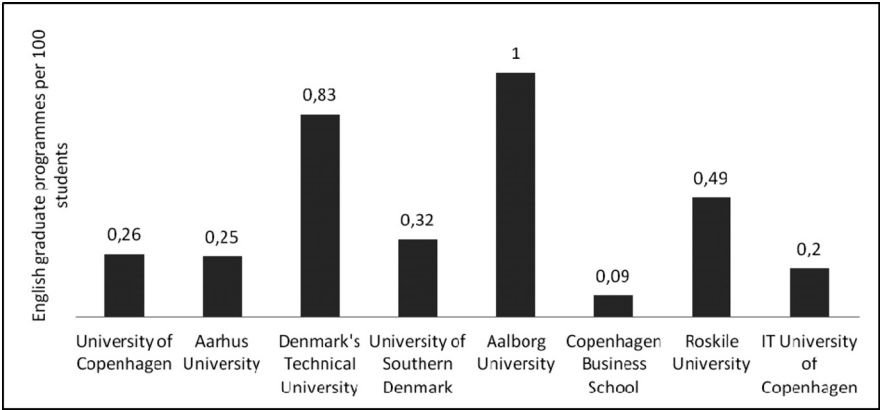


Figure 2: Graduate programmes taught in English per university. Universities are in descending order from left to right according to rank. Note that Copenhagen Business School, Roskilde University and the IT University of Copenhagen are ranked joint bottom.
Note: The figure for master’s programmes delivered in English at CBS seems conspicuously low (data derived from Danish Evaluation Institute 2010). It does not seem to correlate logically with the rather high proportion of international appointees and students. Nor does it seem consistent with another data source according to which 56.4 percent of all master’s students are enrolled in an English-medium programme (Mortensen and Haberland 2012). A possible explanation for this incongruence might be that there is a disproportionately large number of students enrolled in master’s programmes at CBS.

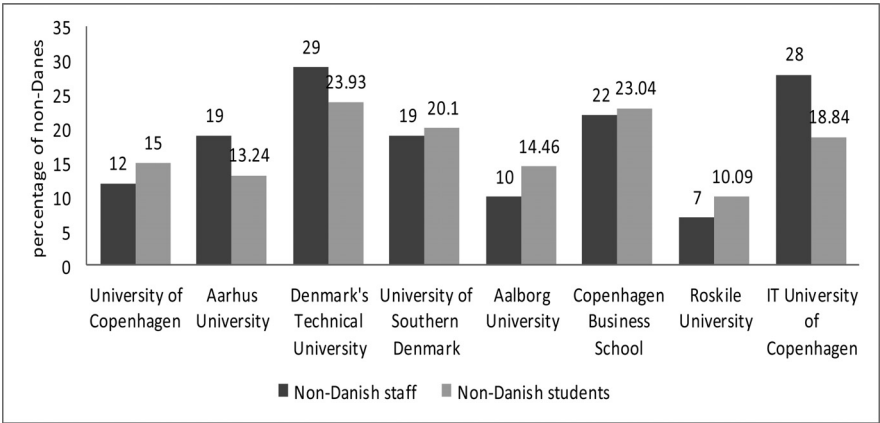


Figure 3: Percentage of non-Danish staff and students per university. Universities are in descending order from left to right according to rank. Note that Copenhagen Business School, Roskilde University and the IT University of Copenhagen are ranked joint bottom.

Among these outliers which exhibit greater than expected usage of English, Denmark's Technical University is the most consistent. Ranked third, it has the highest proportion of English language use in articles and books (97 % in English), theses (99 % in English), proportion of non-Danish appointees (29 %) and students (23.93 %) and is superseded only by Aalborg University when it comes to the number of graduate programmes offered in English per 100 students (Aalborg has 1 whereas Denmark's Technical University has 0.83). What accounts for the notable consistency of this university as occupying either the top or the runner-up position in terms of English language use? The answer is in all likelihood that Denmark's Technical University is a single-faculty institution specialised in the technical sciences. It is well-known that the technical and natural sciences are among the most Englishised disciplines (Borghans et al. 2009; Hultgren 2013; Kristoffersen et al. 2013; Kristinsson and Bernharðsson 2013; Salö and Josephson 2013),⁷ and although the technical and natural sciences are also represented at other institutions, such as the University of Copenhagen, Aarhus University, University of Southern Denmark and Aalborg University, the proportion of English language use at these multi-faculty institutions is diluted by the presence of the social sciences and the humanities.

The explanation for the other outliers is less obvious and must probably be sought in a range of different factors, only some of which will be proposed here. For instance, the high proportion of non-Danish appointees at the IT University (Figure 3) may be due to the relative youth of the discipline of computer science and the speed at which it has developed. This may have created a dramatic need to import an especially skilled workforce from outside Denmark. This, in turn, correlates logically with the higher proportion of English articles and books (Figure 1). Added to this, of course, is the fact that computer science as a discipline has from its naissance been English-language dominant (Greif-fenster 2010).

The finding that Copenhagen Business School takes second and third place when it comes to its presence of non-Danish students and new employees (23.04 and 22 %, respectively, see Figure 3) might be attributed to their explicitly stated ambition to “have an international student environment with at least 20–25 % international students and teachers” (Copenhagen Business School

⁷ The reasons for the greater use of English in the sciences are complex and must be seen in the context of the historical development of the field (see, e.g., Ammon 2001; Lillis et al. 2010). It may also partly have to do with the subject matter of the discipline being relatively culture-neutral compared to many disciplines in the humanities (i.e. it makes rather more sense to talk about Danish history, literature and language than it does to talk about “Danish” computational technology, or “Danish” chemistry).

2006: 2, author's translation), but it should be borne in mind that most institutions share such ambitions to internationalize their staff profile. Nevertheless, Copenhagen Business Schools is well-known for its early attempts to Englishise. Some years ago, it caused an uproar because it changed its name from *Handels-højskolen* ('the business college') to Copenhagen Business School and declared American English as the official language of the institution, apparently without consulting staff, including the many British English users among them.⁸

The comparatively high proportion of English-medium graduate programmes at Roskilde University (Figure 2) is probably best seen in relation to the specific profile and niche area of this particular university. Roskilde University was in all probability the first institution in Denmark in the twentieth century to offer a programme of studies in which the working language was not Danish (bar foreign language programmes) (Mortensen and Haberland 2012), and part of their organisational identity is invested in this image. The first position of Aalborg University when it comes to the number of graduate programmes offered in English (1 per 100 students) and second in the number of theses produced in English (91%), is not immediately obvious and would need further research. Other studies have pointed to the role of organization identity as a factor contributing to language choice; for instance, a study on why two Nordic universities chose to retain Faeroese and Sami as their language of instruction rather than switching to English has been explained in terms of those universities wanting to profile and brand themselves in a particular way (Bull 2012).

6 Discussion: revisiting rational choice and unintended consequences

To revisit the question posed in the beginning of the paper, that is, whether Englishisation is mostly to do with rational choice or unintended consequences, the largely non-patterned relationship between university rank and degree of Englishisation may be seen as evidence that Englishisation is not solely the result of a passive capitulation to the global dominance of the English language. Had this been the case, we would have expected a more patterned relationship between rankings and English-language usage on the assumption that these are part and parcel of the same ongoing processes. There seems to be a

⁸ Presumably there were also other factors involved in why Copenhagen Business School changed its name, for instance that it was not allowed to call itself a "university" (I owe this point to an anonymous reviewer).

need to supplement this perspective with an explanation that takes into account local contexts and, possibly, rational choice. In other words, decisions about using a particular language (whether English or the local languages) may be taken more or less strategically with the identity and priorities of the institution in mind. Of course, institutions do not suddenly begin to use English out of the blue; the preconditions have to be there. To circumscribe Karl Marx's famous citation, institutions make their own history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing. Or, as Phillipson puts it, Englishisation seems to be both exported and embraced in what he describes as a "push and pull"-relationship (2006a: 22). Institutions, in other words "pull" in English in order to be able to compete in the global knowledge economy, but they are, arguably "pushed" into doing so by the neo-liberalist ideology of competition, ranking systems and quantitative performance indicators, which have been thrust upon them (see also Piller and Cho 2013).

Finally, it is worth acknowledging that this article focuses on language choice at the institutional level. In reality, however, it is not always clear where, how and why decisions about language choice are made. To begin to make sense of this, it may be useful to distinguish five levels at which political and personal decisions are made, decisions which have consequences, whether intended or not, for language choice (Table 3). At the global level, the implementation of university ranking systems has had a dramatic effect on universities and seen many of them re-organize themselves into competition-driven, corporation-like, performance-based institutions (Hazelkorn 2011). For traditionally non-dominant English-language universities this engenders greater use of English as they seek to recruit the best staff and students possible from an international pool of candidates and publish in the best possible (de facto English-language) journals. Similarly, the European decision to standardize the European higher education system to make it more competitive vis-à-vis the United States of America has increased mobility, which in turn has necessitated greater use of English as a lingua franca and seen a growth in the number of courses and programmes offered in English (Dimova et al. 2014). At national level, various political decisions have contributed to Englishisation in Denmark, notably the implementation of bibliometrically based funding systems which are likely to encourage publications in the aforementioned high-ranking and de facto English-language journals. At institutional level, most universities have targets to increase their intake of international faculty, as this is equated with competitive advantage (Hultgren 2014). At individual level, finally, faculty and research students may well choose to heed the institution's desire to publish in English language journals for purposes of advancing their career or simply retaining or securing a job.

Table 3: Political and personal decisions at different levels affecting language choice.

Level	Examples of decisions affecting language choice
Global	Implementation of university ranking systems
European	Bologna declaration
National	Bibliometrically based funding systems
Institutional	Targets to recruit international staff
Individual	Job security / career advancement

At each of these levels, decisions are made which have implications for which language is used, whether or not this is consciously known to the decision-maker at the time (see also Saarinen and Nikula 2013; Phillipson 2006a; Ljosland 2005). There may also be sub-levels at which decisions are made. For language of instruction, for instance, decisions may be made also at faculty or departmental level, in the lecture hall or classroom, or in study groups, and research has documented a dynamic and complex interplay of language choice and use at these different levels (Söderlundh 2012).

7 Concluding remarks

This article has explored the relationship between a university’s rank and the extent to which it uses English. It was suggested that knowledge about a possible (lack of) correlation might shed light on ongoing scholarly debates about whether Englishisation is inextricably associated with wider political and economic forces affecting the whole of the university, or whether there is evidence to suggest that it may take place independently of these changes. Insofar as the assumptions made in this article are accepted, the findings suggest that it is a little of both. Englishisation may be the product of choices at the institutional level, but it is also important to acknowledge that it does not occur in a vacuum. It is part of larger political and economic changes centred around neo-liberal principles of competition, measurability and accountability. This article has only managed to scratch the surface of the many complex factors that appear to be involved in the transition of a university from using one language to another. Indeed, it seems to have raised a lot more questions than it has managed to answer. Inevitably, there is a lot more work to be done – quantitatively, and qualitatively – to gain a more in-depth understanding of the complex relationship between restructuring of traditionally non-English-dominant European universities and Englishisation; between structure and agency; the

interaction of the different levels at which decisions about language choice are made; the extent to which such choices are conscious or not; and the extent to which they are primarily to do with language or other factors. It is hoped that this study might inspire similar studies to be undertaken in other contexts so that a more comprehensive and reliable picture can begin to emerge of the relationship between rankings and Englishisation.

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